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The visitors deposit the offering on banana leaves or mats or baskets, displayed in the center of the maloca. Perhaps there is still more of the offering at the landing place; they go to fetch it and make their delivery.

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The women and children who have arrived gather at the back, where those of the maloca are already.

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Once the offering is finished, and the shouts and music have stopped, those from outside, starting with their tuxáua, greet individually those of the maloca, /343/ starting with the first one in line, who will, naturally, be the local tuxáua. They are the common and formalistic greetings: -- "Did you come?" -- "I came!" "Did you come to the feast?" -- "I came." -- "Did you bring the offering (fish or the name of the fruit)?" -- "I brought." He goes on to greet in the same way the second man in the line and thus all the rest. All the visitors, in the order of their reception, imitate the first one. All, however, with much gravity. As they finish greeting those of the maloca, the guests are arranging themselves in a long line, according to their importance, on the right side, in front of those of the maloca, from the main door to the back.

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Two or more men of the maloca distribute a cuia /shell from the Crescentia cujete/ of caxirí to each guest. After all have drunk, they sit down, and the women of the maloca come to greet the men at some distance and without giving them their hands. If the women are from the tribe of the guests, these greetings are in the dialect of their own tribe and not in that of the husband.

The chief of the maloca speaks in a loud voice to his own wife (one of the indications of the matriarchalism): "They came to bring the offering (fish, fruit), you give thanks." She, with two women, goes to the center of the maloca and says -- "You brought with so much trouble fish (pupunha) for us. We have prepared a little caxirí in a hurry." Then the visiting chief answers them: -- "You may eat at will. The fishing (or the harvest) was small, but we have brought it with good will."

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796 534 778 [192] [562] [358] Very early in the morning, perhaps around 3 o'clock, some men make the mysterious instruments sound at intervals at the landing place. It is the bath of the dawn, or wã-wa'kãsé.

/354/ The women and children who came to the feast, barely disembarked, go at once to the maloca and shut themselves in (63),

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63. Koch Grünberg reports (Zwei Jahre, 217) that at a feast on the Umarí-igarapé (tributary of the Tiquié) there had been built a hut of palms where the women and children took shelter, while in the maloca 25 men, arranged in pairs, sounded the mĩriá.

while the men go to prepare the procession of Wãx-tĩ.

796 534 778 562 688 The guests then go toward that local landing place to which the instruments that are usually kept hidden from the women, submerged in the river or in some igarapé, were taken. The sounds of the sacred instruments echo. No person of the female sex may see it. If they saw it, Wãx-tĩ would cause them the same misfortunes as before. In fact such a woman must die (64).

64. One of the informants (Felisberto, Kumãdene of Urubucuara, river Uaupés) stated clearly: -- "If any woman sees it, they will kill her." Several women stated to us that they may not see such an instrument, because, if they saw it, they would get sick and would have to die.

[593] [278] * [192] The execution will be done by her own father or husband, with poison (rarely violently), seeming to be the vengeance of Wãx-tĩ. Upon hearing the instruments, they respond with cries inside the maloca: "ayu! ayú! mĩrĩ, mĩrĩ mĩrĩ!" (There! There! It is the jurupari, jurupari, jurupari!)

: Silva--525 M-4, 5 (1967-1305) 1982 SQ13 Tucano SQ13

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Indian playing the mĩrĩ (jurupari)

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Always playing the mĩrĩã, the men surround the maloca where the women and children are shut in. All of them leave by the back door, while the men enter the maloca by the main door. Now the men shut themselves inside and for about half an hour play the mĩrĩã. Other instruments are not played in these circumstances. Afterwards the mysterious instruments are hidden in another hut, or in the forest, from where, at intervals, some men play them during the dances.

796 /355 cont./
562 Then the doors of the maloca are opened, and the women
859 and children come back to it, and the feast and the ritual banquet take place as was seen above.

785 /356/ Before the dances, the flagellation of the boys who
562 have not participated in the procession proceeds. They beat with
796 a reed or with ingá bark. One of the men takes the child by the legs, another by the arms, and the leader of the dances applies some strokes on his back and belly. They explain that it is to make them grow fast, and for this reason they also stretch the child during the flagellation.

The flagellation of the men will be done without interrupting the dances. Each one, standing up, receives three blows on
[192] the back and then, as retribution, gives them to his neighbor. The instrument for this flagellation is the adabí, in Tukano wã'sõ-rĩ; it is a stick almost two meters long, but the ligneous part was extracted from its upper end, and it thus became very flexible (66).

[184] 66. Among the Wanãna and Kubewana the
[178] adabis are well made, and because of this they are kept for similar circumstances. In the other tribes nowadays any stick is used for the flagellation. They assured us that sometimes they even omit the flagellation. It seems to us that they might really do so, at least when some civilized is present. The Kubêwana of Ambaíba (river Querarí) showed us how they customarily applied the flagellation. In order for the blows to be more violent, the flagellator swings two or three times before delivering the blow. Some of the ones flagellated, as if they were boasting of their advantage, showed us deep scars from the flagellation that they had endured.

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b) The Children.

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The natives want children, hence the general fact that all constitute regular families. The fertility of the marriage is an essential condition for its validity. The birth of the first child seals the implicit contract of marriage and stabilizes the marriage, changing wives no longer being possible.

[842] /426/ They desire, however, male and female children alternately; the former are the perpetuators of the group, the latter, besides the work that they will perform, facilitate the marriage of the male children by the exchange process. If three girls are born consecutively, the Indian will blame the wife, thinking that it is her fault (34).

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34. An example was mentioned to us in Teresita, river Papuri, Colombia. At the birth of the fourth child of the female sex, the mother buried it alive. The Missionary asked: "Why did you do that?" -- "Because my husband reviled me."

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As to the number of children, due to the difficulties in raising them (especially because the whole burden falls on the mother), numerous progeny are not found. Six or seven children occur with some frequency (35).

35. It is to be noted that the girl does not always marry young. And, on the other hand, the type of life ages her precociously, and perhaps her fertility ceases quite prematurely. It was not granted us to verify at which age the menses stop for the woman. We know, to be sure, that menstruation begins around 14 years of age and that they know and use plants for the regulation of the monthly courses.

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4: silva--659 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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5) Designation of the children according to age.

The nomenclature that they use to designate the child varies according to its development:

1st. -- Until the day of the giving of the name, it is called ʊ̃ʊ̃;

2nd. -- Maní, it seems, is a term used in some places, equivalent to baby;

3rd. -- During the first months, in view of the fact that the baby has a lighter and reddish skin, they call it Soãgṍkã̄, that is, little red one (Fem. Soãgṍkã̄; pl. Sõarã́:kã̄);

4th. -- When its little body is already a little steadier, so that it can already remain seated on the lap, held in the arm, or leaned against the shoulder, they call it Duhigõ (F. Duhigó, pl. Duhĩrã́) (which means "one who sits down") or Dõ̃xpó-peógõ (F. Dõ̃xpó-peógo, pl. Dõ̃xpo-peõ̃ra), that is, "leaning on the shoulder";

5th. -- It is called Bõagõ or Bũagõ (F. Bũagó or Böagó, pl. Bũ̃ãrã́ or Bõ̃ãra), when it is already creeping (from bõa, to creep); that is, "the one creeping";

6th. -- When it already begins to steady itself on its legs, they call it Nũ'kũgõ (F. nũ'kũgõ, pl. Nũ'kũrá), that is, "the one who is standing up" (from nũ'kũ, to be standing up);

/434/ 7th. -- When it is already walking, they call it, for this very reason, Syagõ or Sihyagõ (F. Syagó or Sihyagó, pl. Saãrã or Sihyãrá), that is, "the one walking" (from sihyá, to walk);

8th. -- Around two or three years old it is called Bũ̃xkṍãkã̄ or Bõ̃xkṍãkã̄ (F. Bũ̃xkõoákã̄ or Bõ̃xkõoakã̄, pl. Bũ̃xkõ̃rákã̄ or Bõ̃xkõ̃ras kã̄), that is, "grown a little" (from bõ̃xkṍã, to grow), or Bũ̃xkõ-põ̃, pl. Bũ̃xkõ̃rá-põ̃;

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• 858 9th. -- After the giving of the name it is Buxtuyágõ or Buxtuyégõ (F. Buxtuyágo, Buxtuyégo, pl. Buxtuyãra, Buxtuyẽra);

10th. -- From six years of age more or less, until the initiation, it is Wi'mãgõ (F. Wi'mãgõ, pl. Wi'mãrá);

11th. -- From the time of the puberty initiation, the boy is called Ma'mã, and the maiden, Nõ'myó (this should not be confused with nũ'myó, woman);

12th. -- In order to indicate that it is already beginning to fill out in body, they use the expressions Nĩrí-bũxkõ or Nĩní-bõxkõ for the young man, Nĩrí-bũxkõõ for the maiden (pl. M. and F. nĩrí-bũxkõrá).

6) Education of the children.

854 Throughout early childhood the children of both sexes are in the mother's care. The baby will go from the hammock to the maternal arms, or of an older sister, and will sleep in the same hammock with its mother. The latter will give it her milk, later mingau of flour or of banana.

She takes her child to the bath in the morning, later to the clearing, where it will remain lying in a small hammock in the shade of a tree, or of some branch stuck in the ground, or under the eyes of some little sister, while the mother works.

Sun, rain, baths, insect bites, all will contribute toward enriching the delicate complexion and habituating that organism to resistance.

*[192] Returning home, with an aturá /carrying basket/ filled with mandioca roots on her back, the mother will carry her child against her chest, with the help of a wide embira hanging from her neck (it is the process that is called sã-wõá), or riding on her hip, sã-rẽá.

4: Silva--662 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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858 The girl, although destined to leave the nation and, as a wife, to establish a family in another tribe, is, however, an element of great economic value for her parents. In some cases [648] the parents hand her over to the civilized for domestic service, [466] in exchange for suitable recompense; upon her reaching puberty, however, they will go fetch her for the initiation rite and later for marriage, according to the customs of the tribe (54).

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54. Pe. Humberto Limpens mentioned to us a case that happened shortly before 1947. Until the time of the marriage the girl remained working with the whites. The father had permitted this as payment for a shotgun.

736 If, by chance, an individual dies, leaving children in another povoado or maloca, one of his "brothers" (it might be a close relative, the tuxaua, or someone else), undertaking a long trip, if necessary, will go to look for the orphans, whose support and education will be entrusted to him.

466 The spirit of freedom in which the children are raised is extraordinarily great. They go wherever they desire, without permission from the parents or even notice beforehand (55).

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55. Frei Laureano da Cruz narrates how an imprudence by the capitão João Palácios, in the so-called "Província dos Encabelados" /Province of the Hairy Ones/ (because the Indians wore very long hair), aroused the resentment of the natives, who killed the capitão and many civilized. And he explains: "They are such a noble people that they will not tolerate a snap of the fingers, even from their own parents" ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 39).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

use it, and, as the others do, he shares his catch with the community. Weir sites are inherited by a son so that there is some tendency for this specialty in fishing to descend in certain families and not in others.

In objects there are two main kinds of property rights, those of the community and those of the individual. Community rights are in all objects made for public use by the headman or his wife, such as a large canoe, great chicha urns, the manioc oven, the sugar cane press, and guest benches. Of a somewhat less public nature are ceremonial objects and musical instruments also made by the headman or by an aspirant to his office. The first group of objects are fully in the public domain and subject to constant use. The second group are in the possession of their maker and are brought out by him alone on the proper occasion. Full individual ownership resides in all other personal possessions: household utensils, canoes, weapons, trinkets and ornaments, all trade goods from Europeans, and items of clothing. Disposition of these objects is subject entirely to the discretion of the owner.

Infants also own property and their rights are more or less respected. Sometimes a planting is set in an infant's name by the parent or grandparent. A mother commonly dedicates a brood of chicks to her nursing child. The feeling is that, as with ornaments, possessions confer human status. That is, a person should own things. If the child is old enough to understand possession it assumes charge, more or less, otherwise its possessions are administered by its mother. I have negotiated, for example, the purchase of chickens owned by children. In one instance a mother prevailed upon her little boy to sell me a chicken. After the sale was made, however, the child wailed miserably so that I felt obliged to make him a gift of it. His mother kept the purchase price and announced that she owed the child the value of the chicken. When the child does not understand the transaction, its mother announces publicly the facts of ownership and her intentions to make restitution.

The attitude of the Cubeo toward personal possessions is best described as casual. They are not indifferent to objects but they regard strongly proprietary feelings as improper. Their attitude toward ownership is governed by the important status principle that giving is honorific. Among sibmates objects circulate freely, the closer the tie between people the more active the exchanges. Sisters exchange ornaments and trinkets and men borrow freely from one another with or without permission. They seem to be most free with objects of economic utility, such as a canoe, weapons, implements, and somewhat